2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

their crops having failed because of drought. Apparently the tribe was not successful in their winter hunt, since we find that in June of 1849, agent John Barrow found two hundred aged and infirm Pawnee, left behind when the tribe went on the summer hunt, starving around the agency. Cholera had broken out among them and before it subsided, eighty-four were dead. When the bands returned from the hunt, he found that the rest of the tribe had also been decimated by cholera while away, a condition brought on by their lack of proper nourishment. His estimate, after talking the matter over with the chiefs of the tribe, was that no less than 259 men and 900 women and children had fallen victims of cholera while the tribe had been away; making a total of 1234 deaths that summer from the epidemic. Barrow seems to have been astoundingly callous. He reports the Pawnee deaths and their condition quite objectively, and treats as incidental that in the midst of their other misfortunes, the Oto, spurred by white traders who gave them guns, had attacked the Pawnee and killed eleven. The Oto shrewdly claimed that their Great White Father had told them to protect and assist the whites, and Barrow reports that he assured the Oto that if their story was true — to the effect that the white traders had been robbed by the Pawnee — their Great Father would forgive them.

In spite of this disastrous season which wiped out a fourth of the tribe, the Pawnee had made a successful hunt, but without a harvest upon their return to the village, they would soon again be destitute.

The Pawnee school was disbanded in 1851 when the treaty arrangements for a term of schooling ran out. Samuel Allis, making his final report, admits his failure, but remarks, "I still consider the Pawnee an interesting tribe, capable of great improvement could they be protected from their enemies and brought under proper subjection themselves."

Pawnee conditions of life gradually became worse. The tide of emigration increased, and between 1847 and 1859, was literally "pouring through and into the very midst of their corn fields, their villages and their hunting grounds," referring to the tribes of the Council Bluff Agency, the Oto, the Omaha and the Pawnee. The Pawnee along with these other tribes were forced into a position where they became more and more anxious to make some further trade of land with the white man in return for a guaranteed sustenance. This was reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs year after year. The advisability of carrying out the third step in the government program for dealing with Indian tribes, the pur-

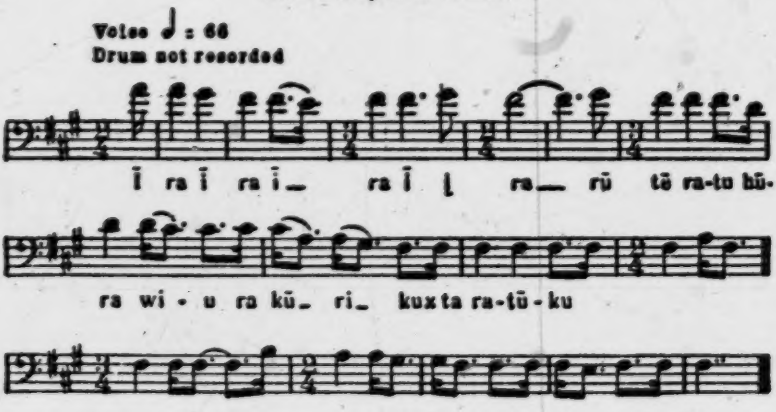
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 was required that they keep hold of each other's hands during the 575 entire dance. "Thus if they came to a tree as they danced they could not loose their hands but must stand there and dance."

*533 The general idea of the next song is that it is better to die bravely 888 when young than to live to an enfeebled old age. In this, as in other [761] Pawnee war songs, we see a light estimate upon the value of life as 726 compared to success in war. The song belonged originally to a brave man who lived to an advanced age. When this was sung in a dance he rose and told the young men that it was a painful thing to live to be so old. The song was also sung by men in a battle, this being the last song they sang "when they were all tired out and so nearly beaten that even their hair was disheveled." It was further stated that "sometimes when men were having this dance an enemy attacked the village. This was the song they sang as they drove the enemy [727] away." The song was also used in the scalp dances that followed the return of a successful war party.

*533 **No. 23. "Old Age is Painful"** (Catalogue No. 1078)

Recorded by EFFIE BLAIN



I	ra	rū	tē	ratu	hūra	wiu
He	comes	it	does	hurt	earth-	stick

ra	kū	ri	kux	ta	ratūku
have	do	it	pick up	it	becomes painful

FREE TRANSLATION

He comes.
It hurts to use a cane.
It becomes painful to pick it up.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

575 two for each side. The pipe-man is the chief, but there is another man who is charged with directing the ritual. All members carry ring-shaped rattles, and certain members carry short lances bearing feathers. As to the number of these lances, we have no data. The members danced nude and tied [292] a string to the foreskin to the end of which feathers were attached. (See Catlin's drawings of the Okipa.) On this account they were sometimes called the "tied-penis society." It is said that in battle some of the mem- [726] bers would take a stake and a rope, plant the stake before the enemy and tie the penis string to the rope. They were forbidden to release themselves and must then stand fast until released.

As to adornment and body painting each man did as he chose. Four hand drums were used.

There were no renewal ceremonies but this society would usually dance [535] in public after the bundle societies had made their appearance. In dancing they formed in front of their lodge in a circle. There were two mounted men to call out their own deeds and encourage others to do likewise. In one part of the dance the horsemen ride among the dancers back and forth (p. 387). Also, there were two whip men, carrying green switches with which [292] to whip up the dancers. If a member enters the ceremony wearing clothes he is set upon by these whip bearers and his clothes torn to pieces. Only the members who captured a blanket or cut the covering from a captured bundle, could take a hand in this. However, if a member has been in a battle and saved his robe, he may carry it folded under his arm.

[888] In the dance a dancer may remove his moccasins and put them on an old needy bystander.

Children of the Iruska.

In this organization there were but six or seven members. They carried quivers full of arrows which were very highly prized, so when an arrow was shot they went to hunt it. They were known as saaro, youths.

They did things by contraries. If a woman said, "Do not get water," [524] they went after it. They were given to playing the wheel game and because of their peculiarities no one played with them. If an enemy attacked the village, the members would continue to play the wheel game and pay no attention to the fighting. If a person came up and said, "Do not go out to [302] fight," they rushed out at once. They were always painted black as if ready to fight. On the head each wore the skin of a blackbird. The society is said to have been handed down by this bird. The leader so appointed by the bird went through the camp and selected boys who seemed queer, or even insane. These he organized into a society.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

dancers wear headdresses made of buffalo wool and stick buffalo tails in their belts. In former times the full buffalo head was worn. They carry rattles of buffalo hoofs. Each paints with earth from a buffalo wallow mixed with the urine of male and female buffaloes.

One member carried a staff, or lance, strung with buffalo dew claws. The important object, however, was a sacred shield, kept hanging in the lodge. It was painted red and bore the designs of four buffalo horns in black. There were no feathers or other decorations.

As indicated in the diagram (Fig. 16) the chiefs and a few distinguished old men are given seats near the door. We have again the peculiar feature of passing the drums, or alternating leadership. This is made clear by the diagram; in addition to the regular leaders and their two assistants, each side has two groups of alternate leaders. In the ceremony the head leaders open, but after the second song, pass the drums to the nearest leaders on the north side. After two more songs, they are taken to the leaders opposite on the south side, etc., until completing the circuit four times.

The ritual is known to these groups of leaders only, and between them sit the ordinary members. These may be of all ages, including the small sons of those present or descended from dead leaders.

The Deer Society.

The raris ta, or deer society, is found among all divisions, but its ritual seems to be in keeping of the Skidi organizations. The fundamental elements of the ritual seem to be based upon the mescal bean, for this society teaches that all animal powers were learned through the power of the mescal bean. While the name of the society is taken from the generic term for deer (ta), the dancers imitate many kinds of animals, suggesting that we have a general animal cult instead of a specific one. That the mescal is fundamental is suggested in the initiation of members. Tea made from mescal beans by a definite formula is given the candidate and when he falls unconscious, the leader tests him by rasping down his spine with the toothed jaw of a gar fish; if he moves or flinches in the least, he is rejected once for all.

Again at the regular ceremonies shamanistic feats with mescal beans may be performed. If anyone in the village brings in a new red blanket for the leader, these must be demonstrated. The performing members then rise and dance, presently shaking mescal beans from bunches of sage and other unexpected places. The leader does not dance but industriously sweeps up beans from the bare ground. At the end all the beans magically produced

5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

V. THE INDIVIDUAL

According to Pawnee standards, a successful life depended not only on the inheritance of an elevated social position, but also on individual initiative. From the beginning, a man looked upon his life's career as a contest whose outcome depended upon his own efforts. Success was a matter of industry, of honesty in dealing with other members of his society, of zeal in the hunt and upon the warpath, and of maintaining satisfactory relations with the deities. He had to work and fight constantly in this life for whatever he obtained.

Likewise, a woman must keep her lodge clean, and be honest, industrious in the fields, successful in the rearing of a family, and careful to observe the restrictions imposed on her conduct. In return for this, her days would be comfortable, the birth of her children would be without pain, and a definite place would await her in the life after death.

Periods of Life

The Skidi recognized five distinct periods or epochs in the life history of an individual of either sex. For the male these periods were as follows: (1) *Pirau.* This means "child," or more properly, "baby," carried no distinction of sex, and was applicable only to a child during the nursing period. (2) *Piruski*, "boy." This term covered the period from the termination of childhood to the age of puberty. The word *pisiks*, "covered up" (closed-foreskin), was also used as a nickname for a boy of this period, referring to the fact that he had not yet had connection with women. (3) *Pitisutki.* This term was applied to a boy after he had reached the age of puberty but had not yet married, and means "grown or straight up." (4) *Pita.* This referred to the period after marriage until old age, and is the general term for "man." (5) *Kurahus*, meaning "old man," was applicable to that period of a man's life when he no longer took active part in the hunt or went out with the warriors.

The corresponding names for the female were: (1) *Pirau.* (2) *Tcoraki*, "girl." (3) *Tcoras.* This corresponded to the third period of the man; that is, the period after reaching puberty and extending up to marriage. (4) *Tcapat*, "woman" (blood-from-delivery), especially referred to the fact that she had given birth. (5) *Tcostit* applied to all women after the menopause.

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

775 they also encounter a golden eagle seated upon a mound, its eyes giving off sparks of fire. By some this eagle is thought to be Tirawa. The eagle directs the soul along the proper road, and as it approaches the spirit-village that is its destination, if it is time for it to enter, it is not stopped. If its possessor did not lead a good life, however, it may be directed back to earth and given another chance. The souls of medicine-men wander over the land visiting the lodges of animals and eventually reach the spirit-village of the medicine-men. Before entering, they must undergo a sweat bath and be sprinkled with fine dust.

774 775 According to one informant, souls are like small stars. At death, the soul goes off the way a cloud comes up and disappears, or the way a wind blows up and dies down. The souls of people who have been seen by the Star of Disease and who have as a result died of illness are taken by the South Star to his home in the south. The disposition of all other souls is determined by the Morning Star, who decides whether they shall be restored to life, taken with him to the east, or sent to the south. And it is the Morning Star's importance in this matter that caused the Skidi to bury their dead with the head toward the east.

764 As a rule, the preparation of the body for burial began immediately after death, and the burial followed within two or three hours.

[764] The preparation of the body varied according to the rank and position of the deceased. When a man of importance was about to die he was carefully dressed in his best costume. Immediately after death, the body was painted with sacred red ointment by a priest engaged specially for the purpose. By this paint the man's friends in the spirit land would know that he had been well taken care of on this earth. The red ointment gave the rough and emaciated skin a smooth and healthy appearance. The body was now considered holy, for a corpse without the red paint was looked upon as dust and could not enter the land of the spirits. (Relative to this belief see Dorsey, 1904, pp. 69 ff.) The dead man was next wrapped in his buffalo robe. Should he have been a member of a society possessing ceremonial paraphernalia, as, for example, the Dog Soldiers, his feathers, whistles, rattles, etc., would be placed with him, and his face painted according to the style employed by his society. In the case of other societies the body would be prepared in a similarly appropriate manner.

[888] The preparation of the bodies of those who died in extremely old age was similar to the method given above.

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The recognition of the death of friends or relatives was marked among the Skidi by certain mourning customs, more or less formal in their nature.

In case a man or woman died of old age there was no mourning feast, and the formal period of mourning lasted only during the day of the burial. At this time all the members of the band assembled and each placed his hands upon the body of the deceased, thus expressing the hope that he too might reach an old age.

Should a man of middle age die a natural death, it was considered a disgrace. There was no feast or formal mourning on the part of the tribe or the relatives. Such a natural death was thought to be caused by the Black Wind from the south and was an indication that the man's life was useless.

If a chief of any prominence died, the whole band mourned for several months. However, if his death occurred early in the spring, just before the great ceremonies were to begin, the mourning could be concluded at the end of four days. This was brought about by a priest, who formally asked one of the chiefs when they might have the mourning feast; the latter set it at the fifth day after death, in order that spring ceremonies of such great importance should not be delayed and thus to prevent hardship and possibly famine from visiting the band. On the fifth day the chiefs visited the lodge of the deceased, the first man to enter acting as spokesman. He told the widow to sweep the lodge; then he spread mats and pillows, and asked the family to leave. The latter made the lodge ready, placing the deceased's medals, clothing, and other personal effects northeast of the entrance, whereupon they left and sat outside. When the chiefs had all arrived and had arranged themselves in a circle, the son of the dead chief entered and said: "Chiefs, it is now time that we cease to mourn for my father. We have placed his belongings for you and tied his ponies outside." The son then retired from the lodge. The spokesman addressed the chiefs, reminding them of the good qualities of the deceased. Other chiefs followed with eulogistic speeches. When these were concluded, the spokesman lit a pipe and selected one of those present to offer smoke to the earth in honor of the dead man. The chief selected took the pipe, and standing northeast of the fireplace, blew four puffs to the earth. Addressing the earth, he said: "Chief, you have gone from us; you have returned to mother earth; you have travelled on the road leading to the village of our people. On your journey turn back. Speak to us who are yet living, and say: 'May all good gifts which

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

came a great rain storm accompanied by thunder. The Chaui priest sent for the Skidi chief, and after a feast told him it was very wrong to put the calumet pipe sticks on the grave, and that if he should ever lose another child and "desired to throw away the pipe sticks, they should be buried in the grave and not on it."

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON BEHAVIOR

Many of the Skidi tales bear witness to an unusual form of friendly attachment which often bound two young men or two young women together for life. In this formally recognized type of friendship each shared the other's joys and griefs. It was especially common between young men, and invariably resulted in their taking perilous journeys together on hunting and fighting expeditions. Such friendships, however, never extended to sharing each other's wives.

The respect paid to old men and women was very great, particularly to old men who had been priests. Aged medicine-men were feared lest they exert their mysterious power. As a rule old people without relatives were well cared for, and there is no evidence that they were ever put to death.

Women who were the daughters of medicine-men generally claimed a knowledge of roots and practiced medicine in their old age. They also served as midwives. The position of woman among the Skidi seems at first anomalous. According to tradition and to the priests it is claimed that her creation antedated that of man. Of the sexes she is the one who acts; the other one thinks. While her position in the political and religious life of the Skidi was not great, for she could be neither priest nor chief and had nothing to say in their councils, yet she undoubtedly commanded considerable respect. She was keeper of the fire, the altar place, and the sacred bundle. Her reward for looking after the crops, staying at home and keeping the lodge clean, sacrificing corn upon the altar, and keeping the bundle clean and sweet-smelling was immunity from disease, freedom from the fear of enemies raiding the village, and protection against miscarriage, stillbirth, and the evil effects of bad animals that might influence her children.

The white man's ideas of modesty were not recognized by the Skidi. Both sexes bathed together. Children went naked until well advanced in years. In former times the men went naked in the lodge. Conversation between the sexes was without restriction, no subject or coyote tale being considered too indelicate to be told with

10: Smith M-5 (1851) 1852
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Their dress consists of leggings, generally made of scarlet cloth; over which a piece of blue or brown woollen cloth is tied around the waist, the ends lapping over each other, and extending a little below the knees. The upper dress consists of a shirt or short gown, made of calico, reaching to the middle. Over the whole a blanket or robe is slung, above which, on the back, may frequently be discovered the black sparkling eyes of a little "papoose" peering forth.

INTOXICATING DRINK.—It is somewhat remarkable, that the Pawnees are not so fond of "fire water," as other tribes who are fast dwindling away from the demoralizing and debasing effects of intoxicating drink. Nothing, perhaps, has aided more in diminishing the population of different Indian tribes, than spirituous liquors. To the missionary, it is always gratifying and encouraging to observe, when a tribe takes a bold stand against the introduction of this destructive poison. The Pawnees allow none to be brought into their villages.

BURYING THEIR DEAD.—On the highest mounds in the prairie, we often observed little hillocks of earth, which we were informed, were the places of sepulture of their chiefs and others of their tribe. A tall bush was frequently stuck in the ground, to designate the spot. We were also informed, that among the Pawnees, and other wild tribes, the cruel practice prevails, when they are on their hunt, and their old people get so feeble, that they can no longer accompany them, of leaving them behind, and even burying them alive.—In allusion to this fact, Mr. Allis, pointing to their old and feeble chief, addressed the other chiefs as follows: "I have learned, that you intend to put aside your old chief, because he is now feeble and sickly, and perhaps you will even think of burying him, when he can no longer follow you; but I want you to take care of him. He has been like a father to you. When he was yet strong, you know his kettle was always over the fire with plenty. He has always been a friend of the whites, and you ought to esteem him for the services he has rendered your nation, and not to bury him before he is dead."

More might be added, to show the wretchedness of their present state, but we should fear to become too tedious. Sufficient, however, has been said, to prove, that these poor people need the assistance of missionaries to better them in their outward condition. But, when we consider their spiritual destitution,—their ignorance, darkness, and superstition,—

Shall WE whose souls are lighted
With wisdom from on high,
Shall WE to men benighted
The lamp of life deny!"

272 After the other foods were ready, the coffee was cooked in a bucket with sugar to be served later in small bowls. This was a task that No Corn was likely to undertake. She would mix a handful of ground coffee with a handful of sugar and boil them together with water in the bucket. The meal would be finished off with sweet coffee served hot and black.

512 While all these preparations were going on, the people began to get up one by one and sit down in their places around the fire. Now only the boys were still in bed. Grandma warmed her hands over the fire, went [522] over to the bed, put them on Otter's warm nose and "took it off" remarking to Old Bull, "Here's his nose." Then she offered it all around to the assembled company. Sometimes it was his ears that she offered instead. With things about done, Victory Call said, "Boys, breakfast is ready, you can go to bed again later if you want to."

264 White Woman removed the bucket of corn from the fire and put eleven bowls around it to serve the family. The grandmother–grandchild pairs [412] each got a bowl together and everyone else got a bowl for himself. With [415] each bowl there was a buffalo-horn spoon and two spoons in the bowl for grandma and grandchild. White Woman, who was sitting east and slightly north of the fireplace, dished out the corn with a large buffalo-horn spoon 8 inches long with a bowl that was 4½ inches across and 1½ inches deep. A ladleful or one and a half ladles of corn along with the liquor was a serving, the grandmother–grandchild bowls receiving an extra large portion. For feasts, large wooden ladles were used for serving.

264 The order in which the members of the household sat at their meal was
554 pretty much in the position of their beds. Old Bull sat at the southwest
592 and Victory Call at the northwest position. Ordinarily a man's senior wife sat next to him, and his junior wives sat beyond. Old Bull and his wives sat in this order, but White Woman had moved down to the east end of the north side so that she could do the serving. The grandmothers and [574] their grandchildren sat at the east end. Old-Man-That-Chief, although a [888] guest, took up the southeast position of humility, for he was old and nearly blind. The bowls were passed around to the people from hand to hand, unless the circle was too large, in which case a young woman would be asked to do the serving. The men were served first in order of importance, the "guest side" always being given priority. In this instance the order was Old Bull, Victory Call, Old-Man-That-Chief, Horse Rider, Queen Woman, the senior wife, then Clear Day, the junior wife, Blue Calico, the grandmother, on the south side; then the women on the north—No Corn, Yellow Calf and his Grandma, Otter and his Grandma, and finally White Woman herself.

264 Before they began their meal, White Woman made an offering of corn
782 at the west. She took some kernels of corn in a spoon from Victory Call's bowl and offered them to the nose of the buffalo skull that rested on

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

592 Clear Day and Blue Calico, "I can take care of the housework myself. You two go plant your field." On the North Side, White Woman had a double role to play and was hard pressed for time. She had "to take care of her husband" and was also the main provisioner of the North Side of the household. She was responsible for repairing her husband's moccasins [437] when they wore out; when he went to the trade store to trade in a buffalo robe for supplies of flour, coffee, sugar, prunes, or dried apples she would accompany him to do most of the carrying. Whether he went on horseback or on foot, he would carry only small items, being poised for any threatened attack. When she became overburdened with work in this way at the crucial time of planting, the two old women on her side, Grandma Chase-the-Enemy and Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, would come to her aid. "Let's get through with our 'daughter's' field first. She has to do the cooking for the whole family and take care of her husband." The three of them would then go out together and finish up White Woman's field and then the two old women would work each other's fields in turn cooperatively.

517 On the way home from the fields they all washed their hoes and took
526 a swim in Beaver Creek. Heads would be bobbing up and down all over
313 as they swam back and forth. When they finished their swim and cleaned
515 their hoes, they would pick up whatever driftwood they could find and take it home. High water sometimes left good sticks at the bend of the creek. This moist wood was piled way at the back of the woodpile, since unless it was left to dry out it would smoke and hurt the eyes. The young women sat on the banks of the creek and slapped the surface with their feet to see who could make the loudest noise. This was considered quite a trick, and sometimes they tried it with their hands. It was like the sound of the dried corn kernels when they were threshed at the time of harvest, and expressed the hope that the corn might ripen.

343 Sometimes a sweat bath was preferred to a swim in the creek. When
515 they got home tired and dirty they would then build a sweat lodge inside the earth lodge on the north side. All during planting time an old man
888 would sit on the roof of his earth lodge in the evening and call out vari-
521 ous items of advice. He would particularly recommend a sweat bath. He
[757] would say, "If you're tired it's best to sweat. Then you will feel better next day. If you should have a headache, you must sweat. When you get
[515] in from the fields, take a sweat bath. It cleans you up better than the creek." There were many other things the old man had to say, particularly complimentary remarks to the women to bolster their morale. After some general praises, he would cite some particular women specifically, saying how industrious they were and what fine crops they raised. Presently a little boy or girl would come and invite the old man to a little treat in the home of the woman he had mentioned, usually some bread and coffee.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

if he wandered over to his parents' tent and asked his mother to fix a bed for him it was accepted as a normal thing. His wife would understand that "he felt like being childish for a while" and that next morning he would be back with them. Sometimes the sounds of fighting would be heard inside a tent—a father-in-law and a son-in-law in conflict.

Although he might live elsewhere in the village, an unmarried younger brother was likely to join his older brother for the hunt. This was his obligation. When he married, however, he would be impelled to go with his wife's family. Sometimes two brothers and their families lived in an earth lodge jointly and they might very well also go jointly on the hunt.

The household of Old Bull and Victory Call broke up into three groupings. Each of the four villages of the Skidi Band had a separate section of the encampment. Old Bull and Victory Call both camped in the Pumpkin-Vine Village section in the west, but each had a separate encampment and ran their households entirely independently. The camp of Old Bull included his two wives and the grandmother and their young children. In Victory Call's camp were his wife White Woman, his assistant Horse Rider, his wife No Corn, Grandma Chase-the-Enemy, and the boy Otter. The old lady Grieves-the-Enemy and the boy Yellow Calf went far over to the east section where her son was encamped in Village-in-the-Bottomlands with his father-in-law, Path-of-the-Enemy. The two little boys did not see each other all summer, as there were hundreds of tents between them. When they returned to the village in the fall, it was optional whether they rejoined the household or not.

In the past, the people who were left behind in the village were in great danger and they all cried bitterly as the expedition departed. The Stay-at-Homes were usually the sick and the old. Some men would stay longer to give a little more protection to an old grandmother or someone of whom they were fond. The Stay-at-Homes would congregate in a few earth lodges in the village, knowing where to find food in the storage pits. Leaving the slow and the sick at home was a necessary step, as the line of march had to move with precision because other tribes were also pressing in on the buffalo herds. They might move entirely out of reach, whereupon the tribe would be faced with the danger of losing all of the effort they had invested in the expedition. Nevertheless, sometimes a soft-hearted chief would say, "Let's all go, even if we have to camp every five miles!" Others would demur, saying that was too slow; finally the old people themselves would say, "No, we can't go along. We're old anyhow," and having made this concession of their own accord, they would be permitted to return to the village. Sometimes noticing that a perfectly able-bodied family he liked was not coming along, Eagle Chief would inquire and, finding they were staying behind because they had no horses, would lend them two of his own.

was made in oblong form about three feet long and a foot and a half wide, with its long axis running north–south.

The next step was to get everything in order for cooking. They had enough water, and now they needed wood for fuel. As she was pegging down the tent, No Corn remarked to her husband, Horse Rider, "We're pretty nearly finished now and we have no wood." Then he would go off carrying a long rope. He used the rope as a kind of lasso: attaching a stick about a foot long to the end, he would throw it up around a dry cottonwood limb and the cord would wind itself around the limb so that it could be pulled down. It would take considerable skill to pull it down without having it fall on your head, which sometimes happened despite the best of care. Horse Rider tried to get enough wood to last them for that evening and the next day while they stayed at the rendezvous camp. Some of the wood he gathered from the ground, tied it up with his cord, and came into camp carrying it on his back. As soon as he got in, he made the fire and White Woman began to cook. They had a simple meal of bread and coffee and some sand cherries for dessert. No Corn volunteered to make the coffee. While the cooking was going on, the old ladies were stretched out resting, and Victory Call was doing the same. Everyone was very tired. It was proper to joke a bit while the food was being prepared and during the meal. Horse Rider began to tease No Corn about how she had fallen in the water.

Immediately after supper the women cleared up the dishes and sat down to rest—tired from all their work. Horse Rider went off to see how the horses were getting along and Victory Call went up and sat on top of one of the sand hills to have a smoke and to look around and at the encampment below. Presently five or six men joined him for a smoke and some conversation.

The boy Otter ran off at once to the river to go swimming with the rest of the children. On the way he saw some other little boys leaning over a pond. "See the sunfish. Let's 'choke' them!" They tied some bread to the end of a string and let it down into the pond and as the fish bit, they pulled them up and 'choked' them. Then the boys went off and gave the fish to an old woman who was living alone in a shelter she had built for herself. Her relatives gave her something, but would not take care of her and she had no other place to go. "Here, grandma," they said, "Here's some fish." "That's fine," said the old lady. Later that summer while they were setting up camp one day, the boys came to give her fish and she was dead. They dug a hole in the embankment against which she had been leaning and buried her there. Man Chief, who was Eagle Chief's son, and a generous young man, gave a red blanket to wrap her in. There were only one or two old women alone like this. Sometimes while they were on the hunt, such old people would say, "Just give me enough to eat and go on."

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Some old people just walked off because they were tired of living. "I'm old. I don't care what becomes of me," they would say. In this case, people thought it was a shame for the old lady's relatives to leave her all by herself like that.

Most of the women and children were swimming in the river. By sundown they began to wander back toward their encampment. When little Otter came in after his sun-fishing adventures they all said, "Minwu, you smell of fish. You'd better go wash your hands." There was no soap so he had to rub his hands with sand and then wash them with water. Horse Rider had been looking after the horses, and again he passed through the sand hills and gathered in some sand cherries. Victory Call was still sitting and smoking on top of the sand hills with his friends and they looked down contentedly upon the women and children swimming in the river. By sundown all had gone home; the men would go swimming late in the evening by themselves.

Now at evening the crier went through the encampment and made his announcement. He said, "We'll be here all day tomorrow. If you have any business at the store, attend to it, because day after tomorrow, we'll be moving on." It had been a long day and everyone went to sleep.

Next morning Grandma got up earlier than anyone else, before dawn, saying everyone must practice getting up early. They passed the day pleasantly, swimming in the river or doing whatever they liked. For breakfast they had a modest meal of fried bread and coffee and for lunch a good soup of roasted corn mixed with braided intestine. At supper, they had boiled dried buffalo meat with bread and coffee.

When evening came, the crier went through the encampment calling out, "They have decided to move tomorrow. We're going about ten miles from here."

The next morning their travels would begin in earnest. They would travel and encamp this way for the next twenty days before they reached the main herd of buffalo.

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133 covered with a deep, compacted layer of sand. Both rivers have changed their courses numbers of times in the past and the marks of their winding fossil beds are deeply carved into the sandy layer, forming a series of shallow but sharply defined canyons and troughs. Reaching north and south between the two rivers, the curves and canyons of the two fossil beds almost meet, cutting up the whole land surface so that there is no level land and the trip across has to be made over a few narrow land bridges. The later pioneers who tried to cross this area going southward aptly named one of the best of these land bridges "Devil's Gap" (southwestern Nebraska between Lexington and Arapahoe).

*224 *484 823 [888] The Pawnees had a detailed knowledge of every aspect of the land they would traverse. Its topography was in their minds like a series of vivid pictorial images, each a configuration where this or that event had happened in the past to make it memorable. This was especially true of the old men who had the richest store of knowledge in this respect. Their journey out was about ten miles a day and eight on the way back when they were more heavily laden with the dried meat. Anticipating these distances, they had to plan on stopping places where there was enough level land, wood for fuel, and available water for their whole large encampment of several thousand people and many more animals. They estimated the journey out as twenty days and the return journey twenty-seven days.

*224 *484 184 Each of the four bands had different routes that they preferred. From their rendezvous camp south of the Loup, the Skidi preferred to go several camps westward along the south bank, before turning south to the Platte. The South Bands preferred to leave the settlements and go directly south to the north bank of the Platte River where they made their rendezvous camp. When they were ready to go west, they would cross over the Platte and proceed along the south bank all the way west until they came to the place where they turned and crossed the country south-

*224 *484 361 FIGURE 18-1. Approximate campsites of the Pawnee summer hunt in Nebraska. Starting from Genoa on Beaver Creek, X is the first rendezvous camp south of the Loup. Camps 2, 3, and 4 proceed west from Camp 1 along the south bank of the Loup. Camp 5 turns southward toward the head of Grand Island in the Platte River. They camped overnight between the Loup and the Platte because the sandhills between the rivers make the journey hard. Camp 6 was made on the south bank of the Platte after crossing Grand Island and Fort Kearney. Between camps 5 and 6 a small reconnoitering party went south of the Republican to sight buffalo; they brought meat to Camp 6. Camps 7, 8, 9, 10—four camps west of Fort Kearney along south bank of the Platte, arriving at Plum Creek near Lexington, Nebraska. At camps 7, 8, and 9 individual hunters went after deer, elk, and antelope. Setting out from Camp 9, the chiefs and braves hunted a small herd in order to "feed the people." They brought meat to Camp 10. They went along Plum Creek and then southeast overland to find Turkey Creek. Camp 11—the hunting camp, where the main herd was attacked by all the hunters of the tribe. The people moved south along the west bank of Turkey Creek and encamped at its confluence with the Republican River. X near Trenton is Massacre Canyon.

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wished to share in the cult knowledge apprenticed themselves to a doctor and gradually learned his lore, adding their own variations in the course of time. Each of the different cults held their own special ceremonies at least twice a year—in the spring before going out on the summer buffalo hunt and in the fall before leaving for the winter hunt. In addition, all these cults were organized into one big "Doctor Lodge." It is said that in the past there were two separate doctor lodges within the Skidi Band that would stage big hypnotic contests between them. They were called "East Doctors" and "West Doctors."

At the time of this narrative in 1867 there was one combined Doctor Lodge with two major leaders, one for the south side, Pipe Offering of Pumpkin-Vine Village, and one for the north side, Big Doctor of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. Despite their location in the lodge, they were still referred to as West and East Doctors respectively, coinciding with the relative location of their villages in the settlement. Big Doctor was considered the more authoritative of the two, which may have been due to personal factors rather than formal or ceremonial ones. Each of these leaders had an assistant from his village to help him manage his side. Sitting Hawk of Pumpkin-Vine assisted Good Pipe and Wonderful Old Bull of Bottomlands Village assisted Big Doctor. These men were both prominent in their own right—Sitting Hawk, for example, being a prominent member of the Bear Cult and a senior member of his family in the chiefs' council. The apprentices to these prominent doctors acted as errand men and cooked and served the meals. They were stationed on each side of the entrance at the east. Theoretically the head men should be willing to give them any information they wanted in return for their services, and eventually they would move up to a position in one of the animal cults in which the doctor had a vested interest. Several subapprentices sat next to them waiting to assume the position of errand man when they should move. Venerable old men who were not currently members of the cults sat in the northeast and southeast positions, further in the lodge than the apprentices. Chiefs who were invited to witness a performance were seated next to the old men still further in.

The bed platforms had all been uprooted and put outside on the roof of the entry way and along the sides a series of booths had been built for the animal cults. The booths were constructed with partition walls of willow saplings and main outer posts of cottonwood logs. Each booth was completely screened in, with a tiny entranceway cut near the bottom of the front wall so that the doctors could crawl in and out. Each cult was directed by a leader who had a series of apprentices and subapprentices with different degrees of knowledge of the cult tradition.

At this time eight cults were represented in the different booths, four on each side.